Franklin D. Roosevelt — "The Great Communicator"

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: "The Four Freedoms" and FDR in World War II

File No. 1414-A

1942 February 23

Fireside Chat #19- Progress of the War

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

My Fellow Americans:

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- and selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina.

He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in any one short report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them.

10.05

The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships.. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

In such a case

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. & try to join forces with Germany & Italy.

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3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf + Red Sea areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America — 1500 miles away.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

10.10

I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far away as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and also of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that in 2½ months we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

10.15

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word -- islands that lie between Hawaii & the Philippines

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps or do not appear at all. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the ~~Islands~~ Philippines from north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates of endurance; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole ~~Pacific~~ Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they

10.20

can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations comeoriginally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little

10.25

attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors.

The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to-date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or for us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production - uninterrupted production. I stress that.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

10.30

unintentional pause

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself.

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In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

10.40

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grevious losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence -- yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls".

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph".

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

10.45

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Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig reading copy

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST OVER A
NATIONWIDE AND WORLDWIDE RADIO HOOKUP
ON THE OCCASION
OF THE
210TH ANNIVERSARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
FEBRUARY 23, 1942
AT 10.00 P.M., E.W.T.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- and selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, and that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

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That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you (the) a map of the whole earth, and to follow with me in the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered tonight; but I know you will realize that I cannot cover everything in any one short report to the people.

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We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to of course separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think, however, in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and

our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the (British Isles) Islands of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their (re) sources of raw materials -- their resources of raw materials, and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look too at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all of these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

(1.) First, in such a case, we could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

(2.) Secondly, if we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand and the Dutch Indies, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan in such a case could (then) release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere -- South America and Central America, and North America -- including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests (to) in the other direction toward India,

(and) through the Indian Ocean, to Africa, (and) to the Near East, and try to join forces with Germany and Italy.

(3.) Third, if we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean area, (and) in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, (areas) we would be helping the Nazis to overrun Turkey, and Syria, and Iraq, and Persia--that is now called Iran -- Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa itself and with that inevitably the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America -- fifteen hundred miles away.

(4.) Fourth, if by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

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Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, either way; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic all the way (a)round South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length, (and) in spite of the difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that in two and a half months we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots and crews, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area

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In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China coast, Indo-China coast, and in Thailand and Malaya (coasts). Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and from China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the China side, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

The islands that lie between Hawaii and the Philippines -- these islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps, but do not appear at all. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we have never fortified.

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thereby completely encircling the (Islands) Philippines from north, and south, and east and west.

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made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

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The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. And these exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than (1,000) a thousand of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the Government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put into a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast -- Berlin, Rome, Tokyo -- directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your Government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your Government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and the poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all of the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines -- only three (were) are permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. And when those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand (air)planes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or any of (for) us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production -- uninterrupted production. I stress that word "uninterrupted."

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production -- uninterrupted production -- so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of

production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions -- additions to old plants. (and) We are calling for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our own fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, or conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.
2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or special advantages for any one group or occupation.
3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering

that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, (and) that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and equal importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and the awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of

Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence -- yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted (nothing) naught but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

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HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

~~1786~~ 2186

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 P.M., E.W.T., February 23, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- -

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists — selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since — a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in any one report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the West Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them — a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Islands from north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy — a strategy born of necessity — that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy — except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Atlantic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor — serious as they were — have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

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We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

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Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

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"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph".

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

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Rough Draft #2

(1)

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle ~~seems as in a setting~~ is a most appropriate occasion ~~both~~ for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these × something which we refer to simply as Character ~~=~~ Moral ~~[illegible]~~ stamina.

~~For~~ General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic ~~places~~ positions were lost, more often than ~~[illegible]~~ he won victories ~~or~~ captured key strongholds. Those were indeed times "which tried men's souls"

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column - witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That which was true of the thirteen colonies is now true of the forty eight states. It applies indeed to the whole world. The present great

~~have come to realize~~ struggle has taught us that security of property or person anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

~~Our people have become more and more aroused as each week has passed to the grave seriousness of this threat against our civilization manner of life. It is being respected~~

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. ~~For the speed of its~~ It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the far flung battle lines of this war.

We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend half way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at that distance is to protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas — protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to drive the United States and Britain and China and Russia into such a small area that they would be surrounded and cut off from supplies from their allies.

That is why this war has become essentially a war for strategic points — points which control lines of communication

between the United Nations. Before the present day of long-range bombing planes and shore-based torpedo planes, it would have been necessary, in any plan to conquer the world, to occupy enormous territories and to subdue physically huge populations. With modern planes, the world can be conquered by capturing a relatively small number of strategic points upon the world's communication routes and using these points as bases for adequate offensive air power.

There are at present remaining three vital lines of communication between the ~~allied nations~~ great centers of world power now fighting the axis. ~~The first~~ These lines are ~~four~~ across the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and the South Pacific.

By the North Atlantic route essential supplies flow to Britain & Russia.

By the South Atlantic route, essential

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– the battle of the life-lines.

supplies flow to Africa, the Middle East and through the Persian Gulf up to Russia.

By the South Pacific Route supplies go to Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands Indies and to China.

These routes are not one-way streets. For the very ships which carry over finished goods to the United Nations must also bring back essential raw materials to us.

It is the purpose of Germany & Japan to cut these lines, one by one. It is the job of the ~~combined navies and~~ armed forces of the United Nations to keep those lines of communication open. That is the great ~~battle~~ struggle of 1942. It is the battle which will enable us to take the offensive in 1943.

In the North Atlantic ~~the strategic fortress is the British Isles.~~ Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland are the important stepping stones; ~~As long~~ but the most ~~important~~ essential stronghold is the British Isles. As long as that fortress

stands firm, the North Atlantic route is ~~stands~~ secure. The bridge of ships which we established last year across the North Atlantic ~~[illegible]~~ brought about not only the fortification of the British Isles but has carried a steady stream of supplies and war materials to Russia by the British and by ourselves.

~~The South Atlantic is a long. It extends all the way from our Eastern shores~~

On the South Atlantic Route there are many strategic places. The Panama Canal ~~and~~ various key points in the Caribbean and the Atlantic Islands; the bulges of Brazil and Africa; the tip of South Africa. Beyond that, the Island of Madagascar (now ~~[illegible]~~ controlled by Vichy France) is in a position to dominate communications between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

The main strategic base on the South Pacific route is the Hawaiian

All of these islands have been in the hands of Japan for many years. Fortified as they are

and the chain of Islands leading from there to Australia and New Zealand.

The route around Africa and the route around Australia are long and difficult. They each require ~~the~~ four months for a ship to make the round trip. But it is impossible now to use the shorter routes through the Mediterranean and through the Straits at Singapore because they have both been effectively cut by the Axis forces.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at the Pacific Ocean west of Hawaii & see the long stretch of islands running from ~~there to the East Indies~~ Kamchatka in ~~the North~~ Siberia at the North down to the East Indies. They form a strong barrier ~~against any~~ preventing direct access from the East to the Philippine Islands and the China Sea. Control of these islands can be achieved only

by greatly superior air and naval forces.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was made for the purpose of depriving us of our margin of superiority in the air and on the sea in the Pacific. In that ~~deed~~ plan, the Japanese have been ~~well~~ successful — temporarily.

The propagandists of the Axis Powers have spread the story ~~by~~ through the radio, through newspaper columnists and by word of mouth that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet ~~was~~ for several weeks after

~~that the reason the people of this country had not heard from our Pacific Fleet for several weeks~~ after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December seventh.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses, ~~and~~ The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those well-known men who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts. will be of interest but knowing them I doubt if they will hang their heads in shame at their own prevarications.

Based on Pearl Harbor on December seventh were the following ships, class by class:

1. Eight battleships. Of these, one was so badly damaged through the explosion of her forward magazine that she may not be worth repairing, though final decision as to that has not yet been made. One battleship was turned on her side in shallow water; ~~it~~ it can be repaired though the operation will take at least a year. Two more battleships are now undergoing repairs, which will take

many months but will bring them out more modern than they were before December 7th. One battleship ~~whose repairs are nearly finished~~ is now nearly wholly repaired. The other three battleships in Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out to sea and fight the same day they were attacked.

How do the bearers of untruths square that with their whispering of ill-omen?

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh were _____cruisers. Of these ____, two were damaged. One of them is already in fighting trim again and the repairs to the other are nearly completed.

How does that square with the un-American falsifications of those I am talking about?

It may interest these gentlemen to know that 50 out of these _____cruisers, _____ were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the

12

attack, going through their regular drill and maneuvers.

3. Destroyers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh we had _____ destroyers. Of these _____, two were so badly hit that it is doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuilding them. One was damaged and has already been repaired ~~so that it~~ to return to the Pacific Coast. Most of the others were not even in Pearl Harbor during the attack.

The Japanese claim they had sunk an aircraft carrier. No aircraft carrier was in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack, and none ~~were~~ was damaged.

4. Submarines. I cannot ~~tell~~ disclose to you the exact number of submarines attached to the Pacific Fleet at the time; but it was a very large number. None of them ~~were~~ was destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor.

The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily ~~figure~~ see that 80% of ~~them were~~ the fleet was not only in full commission but ~~were~~ was actually in fighting trim on the ~~afternoon~~ morning of December ~~seventh, after~~ eighth, when the attack was all over, and figure out for yourselves just what names to call those so-called Americans who have been whispering to you.

As a part of the same illustration, you are doubtless aware that the same type of person has been seeking to poison you in other ways. They The same propagandists have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that many shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit.

I think that these people will be taken care of by public opinion. I am sorry for their children and their grand children.

The very next day after December seventh, we were officially and legally at war with Japan. The next day, because of their declaration of war against us, we were at war with Germany and Italy.

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DRAFT # 1

Since December 7th many things have happened -- some good, many bad, -- but all of them have unfortunately most of them turned out in accordance with ~~the probability~~ probabilities and in the normal course of what is inevitably bound to be a long war, but is also to be inevitably a successful war -- a war of self-preservation for us and the nations fighting with us on one condition -- that the United States give no further heed to the falsifiers in our midst; and, second, that every man and woman that is old enough to work for his or her country redouble their individual personal efforts in producing and manning the implements of war, without which the war cannot be won.

Let us look at the problem -- first, the geography of it and then the implementing of it.

Back in the days when McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt occupied the White House, it is a simple fact that plans were drawn against the possibility of war being waged upon us by Japan, just as plans were drawn for operating in a war or wars against other potential enemies.

At that time it was unanimously agreed that unless the United States, through its people represented in the Congress, were to decide to build great fortifications and huge naval docks

This war is on such a vast scale geographically that the Philippine Islands appear as little dots on the average map of the world. They were completely surrounded, before we got into this war, by Japan and its islands on the north; by Japan and its islands in the Pacific, which lie between the Philippines and us; by Japan on its conquered coast of China and its occupied coast of French Indo-China -- three sides of a square, ~~and~~ soon after they started the war they moved around the Philippines on each side and occupied the islands that lie south of them -- islands that were a part of the Dutch and British Empires. Thus, the Philippines were almost at once surrounded on all four sides of the square. Great islands that lie between the Philippines and the Continent of Australia have been attacked and many of them have been lost to those nations which are fighting with us, and within eight days the final occupation of the whole Malay Peninsula has been accomplished by the Japanese Army.

I am not going to be indiscreet in disclosing military secrets when I tell you the obvious steps that must be taken, and can be taken, and will be taken to stop the Japanese and start their might rolling in the opposite direction.

It was always obvious that the Philippines were vulnerable, and that in the event of Japanese attack we might have to expect to lose them for a while. The Japanese fleet was within striking distance of the Philippines and thus could transport armies over a short sea route from their own bases and from the bases yielded to them by the Vichy French in Indo-China.

The best that we could hope for in the Philippines was action by our forces there which would cost the Japanese heavily and delay substantial numbers of them from operations elsewhere.

Gen. MacArthur and his men have done better than that.

and yards in the Philippine Islands and on the stepping stones leading thereto, the United States would have to expect to lose the Philippines for a while, in the event the Japanese undertook to occupy them. That was a very simple decision, for the reason that the Japanese Fleet occupying bases in and near Japan would be within st5iking distance of the Philippines and would be able in a few days to bring armies into the Philippines over a sea route, most of it protected, which totaled only_____miles. A modern navy is not like an old-fashioned sailing frigate. It cannot go far from its home base without having to take on fuel -- coal in those days and oil today. A modern ship must have repair facilities at a point within short-range distance of an enemy which is going to attack.

Congress after Congress, for forty years, knew this fact and, representing the American people, realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own education, their own roads and public works; their own Commonwealth Government, and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright and honorable page in the history of the honor of the American people.

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But that same page will record the fact that because of the same honor We will not permanently haul down the American Flag ~~by~~ through compulsion ~~of~~ by Japan at an earlier date than 1946.

~~Yes,~~ We may ~~be~~ have been forced out by overwhelming numbers this year but let it always be remembered that we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and ~~give~~ until we have given independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it. ~~All honor to the American and Philippine troops who have put and are putting up the magnificent resistance in the Bataan Peninsula.~~

Does any American with red blood in his veins or even a modicum of decency in his soul dare to assert that this government could have sent more succor to those brave men than we have sent? Circumstances of geography -- the way God made the world -- expressed in terms of the lack of ~~xxxxx~~ enough ships and ~~xxxx~~ enough men have made it impossible to reach the Philippines with sufficient reinforcements to drive out Japanese armies in time to do any good. I am not a blood-thirsty person, but anyone who says that we could have done the impossible deserves to be delivered up to the Japanese themselves for further treatment.

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INSERT FOR RADIO ADDRESS ON FEBRUARY 23RD

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands --~~"Just assured that while through Japanese dishonor we have been compelled to quickly and shortly retire at this time,~~ "We who hate the imperialism of Germany and Italy and Japan are coming back -- coming back with irresistable strength which will give to you and your children the promise of peaceful lives".

It is pertinent to say to the many races and religions represented in this vast area - "Would you and your children prefer to live under justice and with growing opportunities for prosperity and more and more self-government, or under the veritable heel of a nation whose record proves that it throws conquered peoples into permanent slavery"?

What, for example, has been the fate of the people who once made up the peaceful Kingdom of Korea? What, for example, has happened to the people of

"We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The ~~tide will turn decisively~~ fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us ~~until~~ until our full strength is mustered. But then ~~the tide will turn, and it will surge not ebb~~ we not they will have the offensive — ~~we not they not we will be the attacker~~ and we not they will write the peace."

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard already the people of India — by Hindus & Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely on victory over the forces of Axis enslavement.

(3)

like other millions in Europe

~~In the~~ Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have ~~seen~~ watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea and the peoples of Manchuria, and ~~They have the example of~~ the peoples of Holland, white Poland, and Norway. ~~What has happened to the people of Manchuria enslaved by the Japanese eleven years ago.~~

~~No matter how many of these islands, no matter how much mainland Japan may conquer; no matter how many of these peoples may temporarily be enslaved, we shall not stop fighting until they have all been freed and the last of the Japanese invaders have been driven back.~~

When we look at these conquered ~~[illegible]~~ peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese ~~[illegible]~~ plan to follow — we know that this is all one war and that the

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world is all one battlefield.

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In one all-important phase of this tremendous struggle, we have already taken the offensive — the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never fumble to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the crucial spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons. The fighting is going on to-day. The nation's danger exists today. We must have the fighting equipment to-day.

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production we cannot each day make more war materials

than we made the day before.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — to-day: more aluminum, more magnesium; more steel, more chemicals, more copper. More and more we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

No factory has any right to work only 50 % of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays

(A)

not in the least matter who suggests these new techniques, or where the suggestions come from: the only consideration is that we must be fertile of ideas, and that any suggestion which may mean increased output must get speedy and intelligent consideration.

There are still other ways to boost production now. ~~Here~~ At one point we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate [for the duration] beyond the point where diminishing returns set in--that point where greater output means smaller net profit. ~~There~~ At another point we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume: we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.

This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried, and are still trying, to destroy our ~~morale and~~ determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us. ~~For example, They have told the world that Americans could not and would not fight.~~

Ever since this nation became the Arsenal of Democracy — ever since enactment of Lend Lease — there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda, ~~both~~ German and Japanese.

The theme has been that, ~~the United States~~ Americans ~~is~~ are admittedly rich, and that ~~we~~ Americans have considerable industrial power — but that Americans can not and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings — "playboys" — who would hire ~~others to do our fighting for us~~ British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands. American ~~pla~~

Let them tell that to the American pilots ~~who~~

in the Flying Fortresses or in combat over Rangoon.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

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~~Certain~~

That fighting spirit of America will take the military and naval offensive in this war just as soon as the production lines enable us and our allies to ~~#~~ do so. We do not propose to go on fighting a defensive war for one day more than we have to. For to win we know that we shall have to strike — to strike at the enemy wherever he is and ~~wherever~~ to ~~hit~~ him wherever we can find him.

We face this war — its problems, its difficulties, its hardships — with courage and with confidence but always with realism.

What has already happened has done much to destroy the complacency with which we entered the struggle. But in some quarters too much complacency remains. It is one thing to be determined to win. It is quite another thing merely to feel sure we shall win.

The very distance of the battlefields – the very fact which makes our fight so difficult is too apt to create the feeling that the war is really so far away from us here in the United States. We do not sufficiently realize how realistically Singapore was one of the fortresses protecting the Mississippi Valley.

Nor can we ever permit our determination to win be tempered by undue pessimism as to our ability to win. We now suffer serious handicaps at a number of points. The aggressors, of course, got the initial advantage as they always have and always will. But it is not the first victory in battle that determines the final victory.

The ~~Guy~~ United Nations will win this war for they realize what it means to lose it. For this war is different in its objectives from any previous war in modern history. This war is not being fought for land, or trade or gold alone.

We are not worrying about the ability of Americans to fight. We are not worried about the fighting ability of the British, or Russians, or Chinese, or Dutch, or any of the gallant ~~people~~ men of the conquered countries who are still free to carry on the battles.

What we must and do worry about is, first, the maintenance of our lines of communication throughout the world and, second, the magnitude and the speed of our production.

On ~~the~~ our success in both these operations will depend countless numbers of American lives. Every important base that we lose will lengthen the war and will add to the terrible price we must pay in blood and in money.

~~The first requisite what we need most Today what we need most immediately in order~~ Our greatest need now, in order to prevent further serious losses, is greater and greater air power. And because that

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air power must be ~~be~~ placed where it can fight, we need more ships, and we need them now.

We are entering a new phase of this war - a temporary phase, but one which will try us to the uttermost. Never before have the American people been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

Any American who slacks in this effort - any American who ~~to~~ permits his determination to be diluted by doubt and fear - is by his own weakness weakening this nation in the hour of its gravest responsibility.

We know we are going ahead - we know we are going to win this war, and we are going to win it in the streets of Berlin and Tokyo themselves. But the roads that lead to Berlin and Tokyo are long roads and hard roads and we must work and we must fight every inch of the way.

Draft #1

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT 1414

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I chose tonight to talk with you for two reasons. First, that the celebration of Washington's Birthday may serve as a reminder to some people that General Washington led our nation in a war which lasted eight years, and during that time was defeated and last battles and key places more often than he won battles or conquered strongholds. During most of that long period he faced an important minority in each one of the thirteen States that was constantly telling him to seek an honorable peace. His supplies were short and, in a true sense, every Winter was a Valley Forge. He had traitors in his own ranks -- not Benedict Arnold alone -- but many others whose petty jealousies, whose personal selfishness, whose inability to take punishment and whose back seat driving would have caused a weaker and less honorable man to throw up the sponge in the early part of the Revolutionary War.

The other reason I chose tonight to talk with you is that I have been observing for several weeks -- and from vast sources of information -- the temper of the American people and their reactions to current events.

First of all, I am definitely certain that the American people have become more and more aroused as each week has passed to the seriousness of the threat against our kind of civilization. They realize that things in our death struggle against Nazism -- and by that I mean the methods and purposes of Germany, Italy and Japan -- have not gone well. The American people do not yet know their geography -- in the sense that they can visualize the problem of our fighting at distances that extend half way round the globe. Nor do they yet wholly understand that it is necessary for the United States to carry on this fighting at great distances in order to prevent the United States and Britain and the other twenty-four United Nations from being driven by their enemies into such a small area that they would be surrounded and cut off piecemeal from great areas necessary to their support and from the power to dominate the oceans and their lines of communications.

That is why I asked the Press and the Radio three days ago to suggest that every family circle and every gathering should have a map of the whole world in fron of them, in order more easily to understand references which I shall make to places and especially to distances.

Prior to the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, it was a wholly natural thing for Americans in every part of this Hemisphere to think of the war as somewhat remote from us -- a war, which by wishful thinking, we hoped we could stay out of. At that time the whole area of the Pacific was at peace; the whole area of the Indian Ocean was at peace and we hoped that we and the British and the Dutch could continue to bring vast supplies of rubber and tin and manganese and other necessities from the areas in the other half of the world.

December seventh changed all that. Most people thought of the treachery of the act, grew quietly and deeply more and more angry and assumed that vengeance would be sure and reasonably swift.

It is in relation to Pearl Harbor that I use the first illustration of deliberate attempts to deceive and disunite this nation by a small minority of citizens who are today doing more deliberate harm to their nation and bringing more danger to their nation than all the alien fifth columnists in this country put together. Typical of these unworthy Americans is the story that has been passed around from mouth to mouth and spoken from the public platforms --

that the reason the people of this country had not heard from our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December seventh.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses and the very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those well-known men who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, the following facts will be of interest but knowing them I doubt if they will hang their heads in shame at their own prevarications.

Based on Pearl Harbor on December seventh were the following ships, class by class:

1. Eight battleships. Of these, one was so badly damaged through the explosion of her forward magazine that she may not be worth repairing, though final decision has not yet been made. One battleship turned on her side in shallow water -- can be repaired though the operation will take at least a year. Two battleships, now undergoing repairs, which will take

many months but will bring them out more modern than they were before December 7th. One battleship whose repairs are nearly finished. The other three battleships in Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out to sea and fight the same day they were attacked.

How do the bearers of untruths square that with their whispering of ill-omen?

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh were _____cruisers. Of these ____, two were damaged. One of them is in fighting trim again and the repairs to the other are nearly completed.

How does that square with the un-American falsifications of those I am talking about?

It may interest these gentlemen to know that out of these _____cruisers, _____ were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the

attack, going through their regular drill and maneuvers.

3. Destroyers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh we had _____ destroyers. Of these _____, two were so badly hit that it is doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuilding them. Most of the others were not even in Pearl Harbor during the attack.

The Japanese claim they had sunk an aircraft carrier. No aircraft carrier was in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack, and none were damaged.

4. Submarines. I cannot tell you the exact number of submarines attached to the Pacific Fleet at the time but it was a very large number. None of them were destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor.

The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily figure that 80% of them were not only in full commission but were in fighting trim on the afternoon of December seventh, after the attack was all over, and figure out for yourselves just what names to call those so-called Americans who have been whispering to you.

As a part of the same illustration, you are doubtless aware that the same type of person has been seeking to poison you in other ways. They have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that many shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit.

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The very next day after December seventh, we were officially and legally at war with Japan. The next day, because of their declaration of war against us, we were at war with Germany and Italy.

Since then many things have happened -- some good, many bad -- but all of them have turned out in accordance with the probability and the normal course of what is inevitably bound to be a long war, but is also to be inevitably a successful war -- a war of self-preservation for us and the nations fighting with us on one condition -- that the United States give no further heed to the falsifiers in our midst; and, second, that every man and woman that is old enough to work for his or her country redouble their individual personal efforts in producing and manning the implements of war, without which the war cannot be won.

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Back in the days when McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt occupied the White House, it is a simple fact that plans were drawn against the possibility of war with Japan, even as plans were drawn for operating in a war or wars against other potential enemies.

At that time it was unanimously agreed that unless the United States, through its people represented in the Congress, were to decide to build great fortifications and huge naval docks

and yards in the Philippine Islands and on the stepping stones leading thereto, the United States would have to expect to lose the Philippines for a while, in the event the Japanese undertook to occupy them. That was a very simple decision, for the reason that the Japanese Fleet occupying bases in and near Japan would be within st5iking distance of the Philippines and would be able in a few days to bring armies into the Philippines over a sea route, most of it protected, which totaled only_____miles. A modern navy is not like an old-fashioned sailing frigate. It cannot go far from its home base without having to take on fuel -- coal in those days and oil today. A modern ship must have repair facilities at a point within short-range distance of an enemy which is going to attack.

Congress after Congress, for forty years, knew this fact and, representing the American people, realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own education, their own roads and public works, their own Commonwealth Government, and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright page in the history of the honor of the American people.

But that same page will record the fact that because of the same honor we will not permanently haul down the American Flag by compulsion of Japan at an earlier date.

Yes, we may be forced out by overwhelming numbers this year but let it always be remembered that we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and give independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it. All honor to the American and Philippine troops who have put and are putting up the magnificent resistance in the Bataan Peninsula.

Does any American with red blood in his veins or even a moducum of decency in his soul dare to assert that this government could have sent more succor to those brave men than we have sent? Circumstances of geography -- the way God made the world -- expressed in terms of the lack of enough ships and enough men have made it impossible to reach the Philippines with sufficient reinforcements to drive out Japanese armies in time to do any good. I am not a blood-thirsty person, but anyone who says that we could have done the impossible deserves to be delivered up to the Japanese themselves for further treatment.

This war is on such a vast scale geographically that the Philippine Islands appear as little dots on the average map of the world. They were completely surrounded, before we got into this war, by Japan and its islands on the north; by Japan and its islands in the Pacific, which lie between the Philippines and us; by Japan on its conquered coast of China and its occupied coast of French Indo-China -- three sides of a square -- and soon after they started the war they moved around the Philippines on each side and occupied the islands that lie south of them -- islands that were a part of the Dutch and British Empires. Thus, the Philippines were almost at once surrounded on all four sides of the square. Great islands that lie between the Philippines and the Continent of Australia have been attacked and many of them have been lost to those nations which are fighting with us, and within eight days the final occupation of the whole Malay Peninsula has been accomplished by the Japanese Army.

I am not going to be indiscreet in disclosing military secrets when I tell you the obvious steps that must be taken, and can be taken, and will be taken to stop the Japanese and start their might rolling in the opposite direction.

You all know by this time that this is essentially a war of munitions -- that each munition is a component part of a whole; that pursuit planes need bomber planes to blast the enemy; that bomber planes need pursuit planes to protect them, going and coming, to the scene of the fight; that both kinds of planes need anti-aircraft guns to protect their bases; that the bases call for ships to protect them against sea attack; that ships are needed to make sea attacks on outlying enemy bases and sea borne enemy transports; that soldiers are needed to hold bases -- military, naval and air -- and that tanks and many other kinds of modern equipment are needed to carry the war into enemy territory.

Australia and New Zealand form a bastion against the continuing Japanese drive from the North; but they also stand firm as jumping-off places when the counter-attack begins, as it inevitably will. They lie far to the south -- _____miles from California, _____miles from New York and _____miles from Japan itself, so that the Japanese line of communication is already becoming over-extended. It will take Japan two weeks to get men or

munitions all the way down there, but it will take us twice as long. We can do it because we have the man-power and the air-power and the sea-power to do it in the long run. That is the key of the Far Eastern situation. It is nevessary that even if, unlike the Confederate General, we do not get there "fustust with the most men", we will get there in the end with the most men. That is why it has been well said that speed of production on our part is the key of the victorious end of this war. That speed depends on the individual American.

INSERT FOR RADIO ADDRESS ON FEBRUARY 23RD

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands --"Rest assured that while through Japanese dishonor we have been compelled to retire at this time, we who hate the imperialism of Germany and Italy and Japan are coming back -- coming back with irresistable strength which will give to you and your children the promise of peaceful lives".

It is pertinent to say to the many races and religions represented in this vast area - "Would you and your children prefer to live under justice and with growing opportunities for prosperity and more and more self-government, or under the veritable heel of a nation whose record proves that it throws conquered peoples into permanent slavery"?

What, for example, has been the fate of the people who once made up the peaceful Kingdom of Korea? What, for example, has happened to the people of

Manchuria since the Japanese threw them into slavery eleven years ago? What fate would lie in store for the people of China who now live in the Japanese dominated areas in eastern China? What will happen to the inhabitants of Indo-China and Siam and Malaya and Sumatra and Java if Japanese guns and Japanese cruelty and Japanese avarice should hold sway over them in the future"? These questions answer themselves.

INSERT FOR RADIO ADDRESS ON FEBRUARY 23RD

There is one other point to note on what might be called the morale front, as opposed to the military front. Prior to our entrance into the war, the Axis propaganda machine fed to their public daily references of disunity in the United States, based on quoted statement by certain Americans at that time in the limelight. The names of these Americans were household heroes in Germany, in Italy, and to a less extend in Japan. You will remember that they represented a small minority in this country but made more noise than the whole of the majority put together.

It is a simple fact that today, more than two months after Pearl Harbor, many of these same individuals are being once more quoted with approval in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. They may proclaim their patriotism but the fact remains that things they are saying today are once more giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.

~~3173 words~~

DRAFT #2

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character — moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds. ~~Those were indeed times which tried men's souls.~~

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column — witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments have made it more and more applicable to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must

protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas -- protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

That is why this war has become essentially a war for strategic points -- points which control lines of communications between the United Nations. Before the present day of long-range bombing planes and shore-based torpedo planes, it would have been necessary, in any plan to conquer the world, to occupy enormous territories and physically to subdue huge populations. With modern planes, the world can be conquered by capturing a relatively small number of strategic points upon the worlds communication routes and by using these points as bases for adequate offensive air power.

There are at present remaining three vital lines of communication between the United States and the other great centers of world power now fighting the axis. These lines extend across the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and the South Pacific.

By the North Atlantic route essential supplies flow to Britain and Russia.

By the South Atlantic route, essential supplies flow to Africa, the Middle East and through the Persian Gulf up to Russia, to India to China and to The East Indies.

By the South Pacific Route supplies go to Australia, New Zealand, the ~~Netherlands~~ East Indies and ~~the China~~ hundreds of other Islands.

These routes are not one-way streets. For the very ships which carry our finished goods to the United Nations must also bring back essential raw materials to us.

It is the purpose of Germany and Japan to cut these lines, one by one. It is the job of the armed forces of the United Nations to keep those lines of communication open. That is the great struggle of 1942 — the battle of the life-lines. ~~It is the battle which~~ Victory in this battle will enable us to take the offensive in 1943.

In the North Atlantic, Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland are the important stepping stones; but the most essential stronghold is the British Isles. As long as that fortress stands firm, the North Atlantic route is secure. The bridge of ships which we established last year across the North Atlantic ~~brought~~ has helped to bring about not only the fortification of the British Isles but has carried a steady stream of supplies and war materials to Russia by the British and by ourselves.

On the South Atlantic Route there are many strategic places: ~~the Panama Canal~~; ~~and~~ the various key points in the Caribbean; ~~and~~ the Atlantic Islands; the bulges of Brazil and Africa; the tip of South Africa. Beyond that, the Islands like Madagascar and Reunion (now controlled by Vichy France) is in a position to dominate communications between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

The main strategic base ~~on~~ in the ~~South~~ Pacific ~~route~~ is the Hawaiian Islands ~~and~~ together with the chain of Islands leading from there to Australia and New Zealand.

The route around Africa and the route ~~around~~ to Australia are long and difficult. They each require three or four months for a ship to make the round trip. But it is impossible now to use the shorter routes through the Mediterranean and through the Straits at Singapore, because they have both been ~~effectively cut~~ made extremely dangerous by the Axis powers.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at the Pacific Ocean west of Hawaii. You will see ~~the long chain~~ many groups of islands running from ~~Kamchatka~~ Japan in Siberia at the North down to ~~the East Indies~~ the South Pacific Islands. ~~All~~ of these islands have been in the hands of Japan for many years. Fortified as they are, they form a strong barrier preventing direct access from ~~the East~~ America to the Philippine Islands and the China Sea. It is that barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines.

Control of these Japanese islands can be achieved only by greatly superior air and naval power.

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The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was made for the very purpose of depriving us of our any possible margin of superiority in the air and on the sea in the Pacific area. In that plan, the Japanese have been successful — temporarily. We must not underestimate the far reaching consequences of their achievement. But we must not exaggerate them either.

The propagandists of the Axis Powers have spread the story through the radio, through newspaper columns, and by word of mouth that the reason no one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December seventh.

For obvious reasons which no longer exist — it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Pacific Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole, I state the following facts:

Based on Pearl Harbor on December seventh were the following ships, class by class:

1. Eight battleships. Of these, one — the Arizona — was so badly damaged through the explosion of her forward magazine that she may not be worth repairing, though final decision as to that has not yet been made.

One battleship - the Oklahoma - was turned on her side in shallow water. She can be repaired though the operation will take at least a year. Two more battleships are now undergoing repairs, which will take time but which ~~many months but~~ will bring them out more modern than they were before December seventh. One other battleship is now nearly wholly repaired.

The other three battleships in Pearl Harbor were ready and able to go out to sea and fight, the same day they were attacked.

2. Cruisers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh were _____cruisers. Of these_____, two were damaged. One of them is already in fighting trim again and the repairs to the other are nearly completed. Out of these_____cruisers, _____were miles away from Pearl Harbor during the attack, going through their regular drill and maneuvers.

3. Destroyers. Based on Hawaii on December seventh we had_____destroyers. Of these_____, two were so badly hit that it is doubtful that it will be worthwhile rebuilding them. One was damaged and has already been repaired ~~to~~ and returned under its own steam to the Pacific Coast. Most of the others were not even in Pearl Harbor during the attack.

later

probabilities ~~and~~ in the normal course of what is inevitably bound to be a long war.

Why have the true official figures not been ~~released~~ released by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news -- or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion. Without that discretion it is impossible for government to use psychology as an instrument of warfare. The American people are not interested merely in the "war extras" of newspapers. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.

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It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator to ~~state that he does not see why~~ demand that some piece of news ~~issued~~ be immediately given to the public. ~~He has a right to say that~~ But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little information and very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind official temporary withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government.

The Japanese claim they had sunk an aircraft carrier. No aircraft carrier was in Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack, and none was damaged.

4. Submarines. I cannot disclose to you the exact number of submarines attached to the Pacific Fleet at the time; but it was a very large number. None of them was destroyed or seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor.

The ships I have listed above constitute the fighting ships of the American Pacific Fleet. You can readily see that 80% of the fleet was not only in full commission but was actually in fighting trim on the morning of December eighth, when the attack was all over.

The same propagandists have been spreading the word around that the casualties at Pearl Harbor were not 3,000 but were over 11,000; and in and around New York City thousands of innocent people were led to believe by them that shiploads of dead bodies were being brought to New York for mass burial in a common pit. These rumors and many others like them have, of course, been proved as false as the treacherous men who inspired them.

Since December seventh many things have happened -- some good, many bad. Unfortunately most of them have turned out in accordance with

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Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip, and above all not to spread it — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

It was always obvious that the Philippines were vulnerable, and that in the event of Japanese attack we might have to expect to lose them for a while. The Japanese fleet was within striking distance of the Philippines, and thus could transport armies over a short sea route from their own bases and from the bases yielded to them by the Vichy French in Indo-China.

The best that we could hope for in the Philippines was action by our forces there which would cost the Japanese heavily, and would delay substantial numbers of them from operations elsewhere.

General MacArthur and his men have done better than that.

Goes back to p 7

Congress after Congress realized the vulnerability of the Philippines; recognized that they had the right to independence; gave them great assistance in setting up their own Commonwealth Government, their own education, their own roads and public works; and by law agreed to give them full independence in 1946. That has been a bright and honorable page in the history of the American people. We will not permanently haul down the American Flag through compulsion by Japan at an earlier date than 1946.

We may have been forced out of the Philippines by overwhelming numbers this year but we will not rest until we have hoisted that same old Flag of ours over the Islands again and until we have given independence to the people of the Philippines at the time and in the way we have promised it.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of

this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike -- whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely in victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at these conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war -- throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging -- we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive

war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

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Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, ~~of September 1, 1939~~ there have been two definite phases of this war. In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. ~~During this first phase,~~ The opponents of the aggressors were greatly out-numbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we came in ~~in~~ last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for ~~in the sense that~~ in most theaters of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority trained in men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. The ~~where in men~~ the Russians have an undoubted superiority, and ~~since~~ in munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to ~~cause~~ inflict vast losses of ~~of~~ German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the united nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war — the time when on every front, ~~or~~ not the Russian alone, ~~or~~ the United Nations will have such a clear superiority trained in men and ~~especially~~ in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line. Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the one all-important ~~phase~~ present point of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production.

~~In one all-important phase of this tremendous struggle, we have already taken the offensive — the battle of production.~~ It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make more war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6 of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility

DRAFT #2

for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained - and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

DRAFT #3

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his ~~sacrifice~~ devotion to the great cause he served. It was something more important even than these — something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our ~~colonies~~ first armed forces in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists — witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he

should lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments and swift communications have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements and objectives but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what this warfare means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole ~~world;~~ earth and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. ¶ We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. (A) ~~And the reason we have to~~ We must fight at such distances ~~is that we must~~ to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication to our allies. ~~and our ability to use the seas~~ -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, to and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the ~~twenty odd~~ United Nations ~~, one from the other,~~ is, of course, the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer". ~~To~~ There are those who still cling to the sailing-ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and our planes into the American side of the Pacific. But let me illustrate what ~~might~~ would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

(A) p 3

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become ~~the~~ almost endless ~~highways~~ battlefields on which we ourselves have to ~~fight~~ be ready to fight are commonly being challenged by our enemies.

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense ~~when~~ as soon as it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia, and New Zealand, ~~the Malay Peninsula and Burma~~ ~~the Dutch Indies~~ would ~~probably~~ ~~inevitably~~ fall under Japanese domination. Japan could thereby then release ~~hundreds~~ great numbers of ships and ~~hundreds of thousands of~~ men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, ~~and~~ At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you how this could be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion. Here take in (A) on p. 6.

The maintenance of all the lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The defense of these lines demands ~~requires~~ control by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this in turn depends upon control of the strategic bases along these routes. ¶ Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — first, the long range heavy bomber, and second the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Transpose to p5

When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we will ~~We are going to~~ continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can not, because their range is ~~range~~ only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy. ~~so that~~ In fact a vessel [or a group of vessels] can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York across the South Atlantic ~~round the Cape of Good Hope~~ around South Africa is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit

planes, flown by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Furthermore Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. And I can tell you that Therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific engaged in charge of ground operations, including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west, The Japanese were ~~Japan was~~ in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east ~~the Philippines, Japan had fortified~~ are the so-called Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively and fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the ~~Philippine~~ Islands from all four directions — north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier in all four sides which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula. While this may have shocked many Americans the fact is that ~~F~~for many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured, it has always been our strategy that in the event of a full scale attack on the Islands by ~~war with~~ Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, ~~retiring~~ attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor. We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won ~~and that the war would eventually be won~~ by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy - except that ~~changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact,~~ the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men are gaining ~~deserve~~ eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only ~~by~~ the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.

When I spoke to the American people last May, I said that our Bunker Hill of Tomorrow may be thousands of miles from Boston. We now know that our modern Bunker Hill is Bataan Peninsula.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would ~~we could not have~~ have been folly to send ~~sent~~ the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all ~~the~~ those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor — tragic as they were — have been ~~fantastically~~ wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations ~~were~~ came originally from Axis propagandists, but they have been ~~and are~~ repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press — and always with the ~~assurance~~ assurance that they ~~came~~ come from what they call "undisclosed authoritative sources." ¶ It has been said for example, that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have even gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be ~~interred~~ buried in a large common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. ¶ To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole forever I state the following facts: ¶ ~~The casualty lists show that 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.~~

The number of our officers and men killed at Pearl Harbor was ___. You can be absolutely sure that all statements of casualties by your Army and Navy are correct and complete.

As to losses of ships:

At 7.50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor _____combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor itself; ~~and~~ the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of _____combatant ships, ~~including~~ battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only _____ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, _____% of the combat ships of the Pacifif Fleet were still in fighting trim and ~~only~~ _____% had been ~~damaged.~~ put out of commission, temporarily or permanently.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are even now operating against the enemy. ~~Another goodly number~~ Others of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are judged beyond repair.

I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; and that the other ships which were damaged are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.

So much for those false Americans who spread false news.

DRAFT #3

Why have the true these official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have, and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many other items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not previously had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce as fast as they can and to fight as hard as they can.

~~#~~ 13

DRAFT #3

Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Now government cannot, and will not, undertake to deny ~~answer~~ them all. It is ~~should~~ not ~~be~~ necessary to deny them; for war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

A

~~Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and~~

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area — all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands — let me say this: We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. We are now assembling The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our ~~full~~ Total strength is mustered. But then when that task is accomplished, we, not they, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle, and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Insert A – Page 13

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you should ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, insist that he name this "authority", publicly, so that this so-called "authority" shall have a chance to speak up for himself.

Discarding rumors, however, and concentrating on the official reports, we still find very little to cheer about in the present grim situation. We have suffered grievous defeats and we shall suffer more of them before the inevitable turn of the Tide.

DRAFT #3

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely upon victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at the conquered peoples below the earth — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this we all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war — throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging — we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our

DRAFT #3

own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, — there lies a part like the points of our defense. To those points of defense — to all of them — we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy, and strike deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone — ~~but~~ helped only by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly overwhelmingly out-numbered, and were then literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia was attacked ~~entered the war~~ last June and was intensified ~~fortified when we were in~~ when Japan, Germany and Italy declared war on us. last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. There ~~Im~~ the Russians have an undoubted superiority in men; and in

#16

DRAFT #3

munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast continuing destruction on German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war to come — the time when on every front, not the Russian front alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase as quickly as possible, the one all-important present part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing, and a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost — this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.

INSERT A PAGE #16

In that battle huge additional production next year is ~~vital~~ essential. But increased production tomorrow and the next day and next month are ~~at least equally vital~~ even more ~~equal~~ important. For situations may well arise to-day and tomorrow ~~I can conceive of a situation in air fighting~~ where two planes instead of one might save the day on a broad front -- where one extra anti-aircraft gun with a couple of lucky hits might stop a bombing raid; where one tank in the right place at the right moment might save a desert campaign; where one additional ship might save a whole convoy.

In the battle of production, this is the crucial spring.

#17

DRAFT #3

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make more war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained — and on schedule.

And for that production , we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more rubber, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

A

Insert A - p. 17

I can give you a very simple example of ~~one~~ the many ways in which ~~the~~ each individual can contribute.

The American people spend more than two billion dollars a year on automotive maintenance. That includes all servicing and repairs on private cars and trucks of all kinds.

You can help to save the materials and the skilled labor needed for this maintenance. ~~If~~ When you make purchases at stores, carry them home yourself if you possibly can. That saves delivery. If you own a car, drive it sparingly ~~as possible~~ and avoid speeding. That adds to the life of the car and the tires and ~~keeps~~ reduces the need for servicing and repairs.

By reducing our annual expenditure for maintenance by only twenty five per cent. we ~~will~~ can release enough skilled labor and materials to build 10,000 tanks for our fighting forces.

DRAFT #2

No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point, we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in -- that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point, we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume; we can work out any necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure later. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit, we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.

DRAFT #2

19

This cannot be done easily. [It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost.] Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. [None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.]

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways ~~and are still trying~~ to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying ~~try~~ to destroy our confidence in our own allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British in us — and of the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda — German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power — but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses. ~~in combat over Rangoon~~

Let them tell that to the Marines!

We certainly tried to avoid ~~For many years we have tried to prevent~~ this war. ~~We did our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight by a traitorous attack upon us made under cover of peaceful negotiations.~~ But we were forced into it by our enemies, and we have gone in fighting. ~~But now that we are in~~ We are in To the finish and it will be a knock-out finish. [For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards of slavery must be put out of business.]

Insert (C)

INSERT C ¶ 20

Even while we are

It is true that in certain areas such as the southwest Pacific we are, at this time, waging a defensive campaign, but and at the same time while we are slowly but very surely building up our forces, we are taking a much greater toll of ships and men and planes of the enemy than they are taking of ours. It is approximately conservative to say that American planes manned by American pilots have brought down three or four times as many Japanese planes as they we have lost themselves ourselves. That is an excellent example of how attrition Mutual and will work in the long run because any child knows that the total monthly output of Japanese planes is even today vastly slower than the American output of planes which can be and are now being assigned to the southwest Pacific area.

Insert C – p. 20

Our airmen, in their first experience in actual combat, have knocked down at least four Japanese planes for every one of our own that has been lost. This ~~rate will be continued and increased until there isn't any Japanese air force left.~~ is an established fact and the Japanese know it. And they also know how their rate of airplane production compares with ours. That is why they're in such a tremendous hurry to ~~win this war this year.~~ deprive us of all possible bases from which our planes can operate.

The great fight of the United Nations today is to defend existing bases – and the great fight of tomorrow is to ~~conquer~~ regain the bases we have already lost and to gain new bases from which to launch the offensive.

(A) p 21

The spirit in which all the United Nations are fighting this war is one of complete co-operation and comradeship. United commands and unified striking forces - these are the symbols ~~which speak of~~ of a united determination to win through to the end.

Here take in B on p. 23 and C on p. 24

As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point — whether in Europe or Africa or Asia — we ~~shall~~ must use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We ~~shall~~ must exploit each situation to the utmost. We ~~shall~~ must use the best command available in each area — the best specialists — A. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

Insert D

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to ~~rally from defeat~~ carry on. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught.

There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the people of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

~~The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory~~. It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which [these] freedom~~s~~ shall be ~~obtained~~ established and secured in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that ~~they~~ it must be ~~obtained~~ established and secured. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight, first and last, for our own preservation. But we know, too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

(B) [illegible] Amp21

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. ~~The only~~ Two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and at the same time owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.

the lust of

a war

the Nazis and the Japs.

Insert B p. 24

Sooner or later the Axis powers had to attack us because so long as we ~~were~~ are free and powerful we stand in the way of their dream of world domination — the subjugation of mankind by the so-called two master races of the earth. For ~~clear it is that~~ This is not merely a war for colonies, or gold, or land or trade. It is a war for human souls — to enslave all the human beings of the world and to make them all work ~~for the oppressors~~, think, speak and pray only as the war lords of the earth ~~and or~~ dictate.

~~But so~~ The United Nations fight for self preservation — but they fight for more. For ~~man,~~ the free man — unlike the animals — thinks beyond his own body; he lives and fights and, if need be, dies to preserve a life that is not of the body alone. We are fighting not only against ruthless military might but also against those

and the rest of civilization.

to maintain

ideas which make the dictators want to destroy us. ~~and~~ We are fighting ~~for~~ the ideas which will in the end destroy the dictators themselves, and all their hideous doctrines.

~~We are all dedicated to the prosecution~~

Even ~~if we~~ after we destroy the military power of Germany and Japan, we shall have striven in vain unless we ~~can~~ establish everywhere in the world the freedoms which spring from a true conception of the dignity and integrity of the individual man and woman. For we conceive of human beings not as ~~a~~ soulless slaves of ~~the~~ an almighty state but as ~~the masters of the~~ part of a state created to serve the well-being of the people themselves. ~~So to fashion government that it efficiently and humanely serves its people, has been and will be the challenge to the world of the future~~ When we speak of freedom, liberty, democracy we speak of the system of government which recognizes the dignity of the individual – which recognizes the all important fact that the individual is greater than the state.

Transportation Amp 21

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to ~~that world~~ with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that ~~world~~ better future is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

The tasks which we now confront ~~We are now entering a new phase of this war -- a temporary phase, but one which~~ will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that

the words written by Tom Paine be read ~~[illegible]~~ to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.

End - 1

~~At some point we shall be strong~~

As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point - whether in Europe or Africa or Asia - we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

~~Our Americans have never been defensive fighters. It is in our tradition - it is in our very nature - to wade in and punch. The Nazis and the Japanese may get in some telling blows, fair or foul, in the early rounds. But we'll be on our feet at the final knockout count.~~

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated ~~there~~ in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. ~~Our forces in China will be under the supreme command of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek.~~

End - 2

And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of the peace here in the White House.

Today American ~~admirals~~ ~~and~~ British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting ~~with~~ together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian peoples have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught. There have been times when the fate of both ~~Moscow~~ London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest ~~[illegible]~~ question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations

End 3

is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the ~~winning~~ security of the ~~peace place~~ peaceful world, in which ~~our~~ our children are to live and grow and prosper.

End-4

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Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory. It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which these freedoms shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that they must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. The only two nations possessing a

Ind-5

great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort. [What we face is first of all an administrative problem in dealing with the realities of today.]

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations, ~~as in time will be made clear.~~ The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories. [So we must be explicit with ourselves and to them, that we are dedicated to their freedom as well as our own and that in the peace to come we regard them as worthy equals, entitled to our continuing helpfulness, but free to work out their own development.

To mention only two countries, our association with Russia and China, begun long before this war, but deepened by our comradeship in it, will grow into still more intimate association in maintaining peace. And it is no idle calculation that when these two countries are freed of the fear of war, which has had to dominate their national lives for many years, they can at last relax their vigilance and devote themselves to the liberating forces of domestic prosperity.]

In the community of ~~[illegible]~~, sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We ~~look forward to tomorrow~~ know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard ~~and~~ and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

We are now entering a new phase of this war - a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

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End - 7

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So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans Today.

New

DRAFT #3

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The celebration of Washington's Birthday in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future. What made Washington the predominant, symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosophy, his physical courage or his sacrifice. It was something more important even than these. Something which we refer to simply as character -- moral stamina.

General Washington led our colonies in a war which lasted eight years. During those years his armies were defeated and strategic positions were lost, more often than he won victories or captured key strongholds.

In those years, the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed a Fifth Column -- witting or unwitting. Selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he

must lay down his arms and ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in these hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. Washington held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. Washington and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, or worth securing, without the establishment of freedom and free institutions.

That was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depends upon world-wide security of the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements but also in its geography. It is hard for us who have studied or read about localized warfare through the centuries to visualize what it means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole world; and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world encircling battle lines of this war. We must all understand that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe. And the reason we have to fight at such distances is that we must protect our supply lines, our lines of communication, our ability to use the seas -- protect them from enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia and isolate them one from another so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

Separating the twenty-six United Nations, one from the other, is, of course, the Axis policy of "divide and conquer". To those who still cling to the sailing ship days' belief that we should pull our war ships and our merchant ships into the western Atlantic and the American side of the Pacific, let me illustrate what might happen.

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China — to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, we must help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma would probably fall under Japanese domination. Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and, at the same time, to extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion. (4) p.6.

The maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials for our own use.

The defense of these lines requires control of the sea and of the air along the various routes, and this depends upon control of the strategic bases. Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes — the long range heavy bomber and the lighter and shorter-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves.

When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be stickin our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can range only a few hundred miles. Therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy — so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make a complete round trip in about four months, or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit

(X) P.S

planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. Therefore thousands of Americans are today in the southwest Pacific in charge of ground operations including the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west Japan was in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east ~~the Philippines, Japan had fortified~~ are the so-called Mandated Islands which Japan had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

Immediately after this war started the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them — thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions — north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula.

For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

During this whole time we have figured that in the event of war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor and that the war would eventually be won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

It has been paid that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, we could not have sent the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all the bases were under the control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been fantastically exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from Axis propagandists and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always with the assurance that they came from what they call undisclosed authoritative sources. It has been said that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be interred in a large common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts: ¶ The casualty lists show that 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.

At 7.50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor _____combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor, and the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of _____combatant ships, including battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only _____ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, _____% of the combat ships of the Pacifif Fleet were still in fighting trim and only _____% had been damaged.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are operating against the enemy. Another goodly number of them are under repair; and it now seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are beyond repair.

I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; and that the other ships which were damaged are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.

So much for those false Americans who spread false news.

DRAFT #3

Why have the true official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the very simple reason that it was information which the enemy did not have and which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has mistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must in turn have confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his fight upon us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion.

It is very easy for a newspaper owner or a commentator to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands that the newspaper owner or commentator has very little knowledge of the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce what they can and to fight as hard as they can.

DRAFT #3

Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Government cannot and will not undertake to answer them all. It should not be necessary to deny them. For war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline. That is why I urge you all to disregard rumor and gossip and amateur comments, and above all not to spread them — for when you do you are unwittingly serving the Nazi and Japanese enemy.

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the Southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and

Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands. "We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We will not stop short of total destruction of this militarism. The fortunes of war have been against us thus far, and they will continue against us until our full strength is mustered. But then we not they will have the offensive, we not they will win the final battle and we not they will make the peace."

DRAFT #3

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India — by Hindus and Moslems alike — whose great land may well be threatened by the Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely in victory of the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in the vast Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, have seen what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerers. They have watched the fate of the peaceful populace who once made up the Kingdom of Korea, and the people of Manchuria, and the people of Holland, and Poland, and Norway.

When we look at these conquered peoples — and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow — we know that this all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

And in that war — throughout the whole battlefield in which it is raging — we are preparing to carry the fight to the enemy. Americans have never been willing, and never will be willing, to fight a defensive war. We do not propose to remain on the defensive for one day more than is absolutely necessary. We reject the counsel of despair of those who urge us to pull our forces in to our own waters and along our

DRAFT #3

own shores to wait for the attack here. At every outpost on the far-flung lines of communication, at every strategic stronghold of war in the world, there lies a part of our defense. To those points of defense we shall send our weapons and our men. For to win, we know that we shall have to hit and hit hard. We cannot stand still in our corner dodging the blows which come our way. We shall have to carry the attack to the enemy and deliver our blows whenever and wherever we can find him.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone but helped by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were greatly out-numbered and were literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia entered the war last June and was fortified when we can in last December. This second phase is still a defensive phase — for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. In men the Russians have an undoubted superiority; and in

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munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast losses of German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war -- the time when on every front, not the Russian alone, the United Nations will have such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to wrest control from the enemy and assume the offensive all along the line.

Therefore, in order to arrive at this third phase the one all-important present part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets, in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing; a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost -- this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle this is the "crucial" spring. A plane now is worth a dozen next year. We cannot wait for a year or two for our weapons.

The fighting is going on today.

The Nation's danger exists today.

We must have the fighting equipment today.

DRAFT #3

Therefore, even in the midst of converting our peace-time factories to arsenals of war, even in the midst of retooling our factories for war production, we must each day make more war materials than we made the day before.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained — and on schedule.

And for that production , we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material — not next summer or next year, but now — today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more copper, more rubber. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

No factory has any right to work only 50% of the time. New methods and new techniques must be found to cut delays. There are still other ways to boost production now. At one point we may be able to do it by asking ownership to operate beyond the point where diminishing returns set in — that point where greater output means smaller net profit. At another point we may be able to do it by asking labor to forego for the duration some hard-won privilege. In such cases we must go boldly for greater volume; we can work out the necessary adjustments for capital and for labor at our leisure. The only limit we can recognize now is the absolute physical limit of productive capacity. As long as we remain below that limit we are not doing enough.

While we are doing all of these things, we must of course plan so that tomorrow's production will exceed today's. Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted. Every civilian use of a needed material must be stopped if it can possibly be done without wrecking our civilian life.

This cannot be done easily. It will require of all of us great endurance, great determination, great eagerness to do our very utmost. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay. None of that counts now. We have no time whatever to lose.

For production is not a matter merely of voting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried and are still trying to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they try to destroy our confidence in our allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British, the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy — ever since enactment of Lend Lease — there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda, German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power — but that Americans cannot and will not fight.

DRAFT #2 -#-20

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings — "playboys" — who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the American pilots in the Flying Fortresses [redacted].

Let them tell that to the Marines!

For many years we have tried to prevent this war. We did our very best to avoid getting into the fight. We were put into the fight by a traitorous attack upon us made under cover of peaceful negotiations. But now that we are in - we are in for the finish and it will be a knock-out finish. For Nazism and Fascism wherever it has raised its ugly standards of slavery must be put out of business.

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As quickly as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point -- whether in Europe or Africa or Asia -- we shall use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

We shall exploit each situation to the utmost. We shall use the best command available in each area. The spirit in which the United Nations are fighting this war was splendidly demonstrated in the Netherlands Indies area when our own Admiral Hart yielded the naval command to the Hollander Admiral Helfrich, who knows every current and eddy of the waters around those islands. Today American, British and Dutch naval units are serving under Admiral Helfrich and they are making the Japanese pay an enormous price for their gains.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to rally from defeat. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught.

There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the Chinese of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

The promise is given too, with full thought to the peoples whose governments have been directed by members of the United Nations. For the victory will be won for freedom, else it will not be victory. It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which freedom shall be obtained in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that it must be obtained. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight first and last, for our own preservation. But we know too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilisation which alone makes for enduring peace.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. The two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations, by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

We look forward to that world with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that world is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

X We are now entering a new phase of this war — a temporary phase, but one which will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that

the words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army.

These are some of the great words of our history:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today.

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Version K

DRAFT #3

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who ~~in spite of the fact that China~~, for nearly five years, ~~her~~ have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and ~~a huge~~ vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. ~~our~~ Even if we are thinking only of ~~pub~~ ~~It is worthwhile, from~~ our own selfish point of view, we must ~~to~~ help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter offense when it comes.

2. ~~If~~ The whole of the southwest Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, the Malay Peninsula and Burma ~~should~~ would probably fall under Japanese domination, Japan could thereby release hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of men to ~~extend~~ launch ~~her offensive~~ attacks on a large scale against the coasts of North, Central and South America, including Alaska, and, at the same time, to extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you this.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we are compelled ~~thereby~~ to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we will help the Nazis to overrun [~~open the door to a German-Italian overrunning~~] ~~of~~ Turkey, Syria, Iran, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa — ~~thereby~~ putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

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(A) p 5

And anyone who thinks the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.

(B)

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one way streets — for the ships which carry our goods to our allies bring back essential raw materials for our own use.

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4. If by ~~the~~ a fatuous policy~~, generally~~ advocated by a few, ~~many~~, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we help to automatically invite the weakening of the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and we help to cripple deprive Britain of ~~raise the question of cutting Britain off from~~ essential food-~~stuffs~~ supplies and munitions, ~~within the Island of Britain itself.~~

(A)

These illustrations will show you how the defense of the United States itself and the Americas might be seriously compromised if we did not carry the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters.

The ~~control~~ maintenance of lines of communications between the United Nations is ~~so~~ vital. (B) ~~for another reason.~~ It is perhaps not generally realized that (C) control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- the long range heavy bomber and the protection of the neighborhood of the bases of these bombers by lighter and shorter range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and the bombers themselves. ~~known as pursuit planes~~. As an example, you have read that our long range bombers have been used with good effect in the neighborhood of Borneo, but you have also read that we have lost a number of them because they could not be protected by pursuit planes. You have asked why we did not

When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turkey. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is, flying high and striking hard.

We are going to continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters — as far as possible from our own home grounds.

thus protect them. The answer is simple. Bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but pursuit planes can only range a few hundred miles, ~~and~~, therefore, pursuit planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates on board freight steamers. To send freight steamers through either the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific is an operation of many weeks under convoy -- so that a vessel or a group of vessels can make a complete round trip in about four months or, in other words, three round trips in a whole year. It is incidentally worth remembering that the route to the southwest Pacific from New York round the Cape of Good Hope is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct.

There is no reason why I should not tell you that although considering the fact that we have been in the war for only two months and a half, we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit planes, flown by American pilots, which are in daily contact with the enemy in the Netherlands Indies themselves. ~~Remember also that~~ Every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. Therefore thousands of Americans are today in

the southwest Pacific in charge of ~~those~~ ground operations ~~and~~ including ~~in charge~~ the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war started the Philippine Islands were surrounded on three sides by Japan. On the west Japan was in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China, yielded to them by the Vichy French. The Philippines were, therefore, blocked off on the west of them. On the North ~~of the Philippines lie~~ lay the islands of Japan themselves ~~itself~~, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. Those islands, therefore, blocked ready access from the north. On the east side of the Philippines, Japan had fortified all the so-called Mandated Islands ~~lying between the Philippines and Hawaii~~ which Japan had fortified. ~~Guam was a dot surrounded by Japanese islands which had been heavily fortified. Heroic Wake was just outside the Japanese air bases and readily accessible to them. All these Japanese islands dotted the Pacific Ocean for more than a thousand miles and because Japan~~, in absolute violation of her written word, had fortified them with naval and air bases, access from the United States to the east side of the Philippines had also been cut off.

Very soon after this war started the Japanese forces moved down on our side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Philippine Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier which has prevented us from sending reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of Bataan Peninsula.

This fact, however, is not a complete answer. There is another factor. Ever since the United States assumed control of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1898, we have had the national objective of helping them over a period of years to make themselves wholly fit for complete independence. During these same forty-four years our military and naval experts have not admitted but have asserted that in the event of war between the United States and Japan we could not at the beginning of such a war retain military or naval control of the Islands. To have attempted to ~~retain~~ such control would have meant spending billions of dollars on fortifications, on huge garrisons and on many completely equipped naval bases in the Philippines themselves. This country as a whole

may not have realized that fact but every Member of the Congress has understood it very clearly. During this whole time we have figured that in the event of war with Japan, we would fight a delaying action with American and Filipino forces, retiring slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor and that the war over a long period -- perhaps years, would eventually be won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. Nothing that has occurred in the past two months changes in the least bit the soundness of those obvious plans. As a matter of simple fact, the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded in point of time the previous estimates, and he and his men deserve eternal glory and credit therefor.

To explode another fallacy, it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that if no attack whatsoever had been made on Pearl Harbor on December seventh, and if no American ships had been destroyed there, our operations in the Pacific Ocean up-to-date would not have been changed for the better, except in one particular. If no ships had been put out of commission in Pearl Harbor, the injured ships would have been employed on convoy duty, but the number of such ships would have added only a small percentage to the vessels of war now engaged on such duty. If no battleships had been

For many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that ~~the Philippines~~ in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.

(A)

B p. 10

It has been said that Japanese ~~successes~~ ~~advances in the P~~ ~~gains~~ in the Philippines were made possible by the success of this surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. ~~This is not~~ Categorically and ~~simply~~ simply, I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, we could not have sent the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean where all the bases were under the control of the Japanese.

(C) p. 10

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor have been fabulously exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come from Axis propagandists and are repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press — and always with the assurance that they come from what they call undisclosed authoritative sources. It has been said that the reason no one had heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no Pacific Fleet — that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that

1

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right. To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole I state the following facts:

injured at Pearl Harbor, we would not have been in a position to send the battleship fleet to the Philippines, ~~for example,~~ ~~because~~ We had not sufficient naval bases there, and the best they could have done would have been to make a raid and return at once to Hawaii. (B)

for the reasons I have stated.

In this same connection, there exists the pathetic fact that altogether too many Americans, in and out of public life, through conversation, speeches, radio and press, have spread the word around, quoting what they call "undisclosed, authoratative sources", that the American Navy had ceased to exist in the Pacific as a result of Pearl Harbor and that not 3,000 men were killed and wounded there but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some of them have gone on to say that several boat-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York Harbor to be interred in a large common grave. (C) (D)

Enough time has now elapsed for me to tell you more detailed figures in regard to losses at Pearl Harbor. ¶. The casualty lists show ~~Navy Department was wholly truthful in announcing~~ that only about 3,000 officers and men were killed or wounded there.

As to the destruction of the Fleet, I want you to remember this simple fact. At 7.50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor __X__ number of combatant ships. A relatively small number of them were in Pearl Harbor, and the great majority of them were at sea or in or near various parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of combatant ships, including battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines, only _____ were unable to proceed to sea and fight, or to stay at sea and fight, at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, _____ per cent of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and only _____% had been damaged. Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are operating against the enemy. Another goodly number of them are under repair, and it seems probable that of all the ships damaged, only three of them are beyond repair.

So much for those false Americans who spread false news.

Lest such false Americans try to find an excuse by saying that all our battleships in Hawaii were destroyed, I can, without disclosing names of ships, point out that the total loss will probably involve only one ship; that many of them were able to fight at sea immediately after Pearl Harbor, and that the others ships which were damaged are either finishing their repairs or will be completely ready in a relatively short time.

5400

DRAFT #4 RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

~~The celebration of~~ Washington's Birthday ~~in the midst of our initial military and naval reverses in this world-wide struggle~~ is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

~~What made Washington~~ The predominant, ~~symbolic figure of his time was not only his generalship, his philosphy, his physical courage or his devotion to the great cause he served. It was something more important even than these -- something which we refer to simply as character~~ -- moral stamina.

Trait of Washington

General Washington led our ~~first~~ armed forces ~~in a war which lasted eight years.~~

For eight ~~[illegible]~~ years, ~~the~~ the continental army was faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- ~~[illegible]~~ -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's

cause was hopeless, that he should [redacted] ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since. ~~Washington~~ He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. ~~Washington~~ He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, ~~or worth [illegible]~~, without ~~the establishment of~~ freedom and free institutions.

A

~~That~~ What was true of the thirteen colonies. It became true of the forty-eight states. In later years huge armaments and swift communications have made it apply more and more to the whole world. The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

A

Start

(A)

What was true for the thirteen colonies is to-day true for the forty-eight states and indeed of the entire world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past not only in its methods and implements and objectives but also in its geography. It is hard for us to visualize what this warfare means in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

Stet

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become almost endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must fight at ~~such~~ these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication to our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce

of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements.

~~Separating the United Nations is, of course,~~ the old Axis policy of "divide and conquer". There are those who still cling to the belief of ~~the~~ sailing-ship days [belief] that we should pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and to our own ~~have the American side of the~~ Pacific Coast to concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice. 13

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. ~~Even if we are thinking only of our own selfish point of view, it must~~ It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive as soon as it comes -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

INSERT B PAGE #4 - end of second paragraph

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its [millions and its known power.] powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples [equally desirous of avoiding] determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North, Central and South America.

What, I ask you, would happen in all these great ~~regions~~ reservoirs of power if they were cut off from each other either by enemy action or self imposed isolation? [if each one of them adopted the turtle policy advocated by some Americans?] You know very well what would happen. The Axis powers would win this war, because:

---

2. If our last communication with [The whole of] the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of [North, Central and South America,] the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.

3. If by pulling our heads within our own shells we [are compelled] were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we [will] would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, ~~Iraq~~, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy advocated by a few, we cease to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid comeback by Russia against the Nazis, and ~~to~~ would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions. ~~And anyone who thinks~~

~~the American people would favor such a policy as that is not a very keen student of public opinion.~~

When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, some people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our home grounds.

The maintenance of all ~~the~~ those lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our ~~goods overseas~~ troops and munitions out-bound ~~vessels~~ bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The defense of these lines demands ~~control by us~~ relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber, and second, ~~the lighter and~~ light bombers, dive bombers, and torpedo planes short~~-~~-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but ~~pursuit~~ the smaller planes can not, ~~because their range is only a few hundred miles~~. Therefore, ~~pursuit~~ these lighter planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific in crates packed on board ~~freight steamers~~ cargo ships. Look at your map again and you will see that. The route to the southwest Pacific from New York across the South Atlantic around South Africa, is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route from San Francisco to the south Pacific direct. To send f~~reight steamers through~~ cargo ships by either ~~the Atlantic route or the Pacific route to the southwest Pacific~~ relatively safe routes, is an operation of many weeks, ~~under convoy. In fact~~ A vessel can make a ~~complete~~ round trip in about four months, or, in other

words, only three round trips in a whole year.

Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half, I can tell you that we already have a very large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. Furthermore every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation. And I can tell you that thousands of Americans are today in that area in Australia, in the air and on the ground as well engaged in ground operations.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

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Mason

Put these
insects on
2 specimen

open Bhen

INSERT C

In this battle area Japan has had a clear advantage. For she can fly ~~all~~ over her short-range planes to the ~~East Indies~~ by using [the] many stepping stones -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China and Thailand coasts. [So also] Japanese troop transports can go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

points of attack

INSERT D

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. They cover an enormous area from north to south and from east to west. Guam lies in the middle of them--a lone outpost which we never fortified. Wake Island, northeast of them, is within easy reach -- much closer to the Japanese bases than the 2,000 mile distance that Wake lies from Hawaii.

INSERT E

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

(A) (F)

For we know that, with our greater resources, we can outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. In the meantime, in defense and in attack, we shall continue to destroy the Japanese and their implements of warfare.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete barrier on all four sides with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of ~~Bataan Peninsula~~ the Philippines. While this may have shocked many Americans, [the fact is that] ~~for many years it has been obvious to our military and naval experts that in the event of war with Japan we could not retain military or naval control of the Islands.~~

~~During this whole time~~ it has always been ~~our~~ the strategy born of necessity that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we ~~would~~ should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor. (E) We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. (F) Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy in the Philippines -- except that the defense put up by

General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory [and credit] therefor.

When I spoke to the American people last May, I said that our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be thousands of miles from Boston. We now know that our modern Bunker Hill is Bataan Peninsula.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Categorically and simply, I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, the radio and the press -- and always

with the assurance that they come from what are called "undisclosed authoritative sources".

It has been said, for example, that the reason no one heard anything about our Pacific Fleet for several weeks after Pearl Harbor was that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that it had all been sunk or destroyed on December 7th.

It has even been said that not 3,000 men were killed there, but 11,000 or 12,000 men. Some have even gone on to say that several [redacted]-loads of bodies of the dead were due to arrive in New York harbor to be buried in a [redacted] common grave.

For obvious reasons it was important for many weeks not to disclose to the Japanese the exact details of our losses. The very fact that the Japanese announcement of those losses was so wholly erroneous is sufficient proof that our decision at the time was right.

To those who have been spreading the tale that the American Fleet was destroyed, and to the American people as a whole, however, I state the following facts.

The number of our officers and men killed at Pearl Harbor was 2340. You can be absolutely sure that all statements of casualties by your Army and Navy are correct and complete.

As to losses of ships: at 7:50 in the morning of December seventh there were based on Pearl Harbor 100 combatant ships -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines. A relatively small ~~number of them~~ were in Pearl Harbor itself; the great majority of them were at sea or in or near ~~various parts~~ of the Hawaiian Islands. Of this total of 100 combatant ships, only 13 were unable to proceed to sea and fight at 11 o'clock on the morning of December seventh, after the attack had been ended. In other words, 87% of the combat ships of the Pacific Fleet were still in fighting trim and 13% had been put out of commission, temporarily or permanently.

Of these damaged ships, a goodly number are back in full commission and are even now operating against the enemy. Others of them are under repair; and ~~it now seems~~ I can tell you ~~probable~~ quite probably that of all the fighting ships damaged, only three of them are judged beyond repair.

Why have these official figures not been revealed by our government before this? For the [redacted] reason that it was information which the enemy did not have, and

which it wanted very much to have. That is true and will be true of many other items of war information. They are kept secret not because your government believes that the people of the United States and their allies will be seriously depressed by bad news — or made dangerously complacent by good news. Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion. and that word discretion ought to apply to government and to critics as well

It is very easy to demand that some piece of news be immediately given to the public. But the public very well understands the reasons that lie behind temporary official withholding of the information in any given case. The average American understands and approves the action of his government. The fact that the American people have not previously had all the details of Pearl Harbor has made no difference in their determination to produce as fast as they can and to fight as hard as they can.

INSERT G

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who since Pearl Harbor have whispered ~~or~~ announced "off the record" that ~~claimed~~ there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that ~~this~~ the Fleet ~~has~~ was all [been] sunk or destroyed on December 7th. ~~-- for~~ They [Americans who] claimed that the government [had] has withheld the truth about casualties ~~and~~ that eleven or twelve thousand men ~~had been~~ were killed [or wounded] at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures are officially announced. They have claimed [3,000] ~~or~~ that shiploads of bodies of the dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

You and I can rest assured that all the major facts have been and will be disclosed to the American people. We might as well make up our minds that in many cases -- most cases -- the details of those facts will not be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give important military information to the enemy.

I am not in the least bit concerned about the inability of the American people to take losses and even defeats with their chins up. If tomorrow an American ship of any kind is hit by a Japanese plane and a great volume of smoke arises from the ship, the Japanese may easily claim the sinking of that ship. It would be obviously ridiculous for the Navy to

(2)

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people but there must also always be a full use of discretion — and that word discretion applies to government and to the critics of government as well.

(INSERT G - page 3)

announce that the ship had sustained damage which it would take three weeks to repair, if that happened to be the fact. Similarly if one of our combat ships were actually sunk in a collision of which the Japanese knew nothing it would be the height of folly to announce for the benefit of the Japanese that the ship was lost.

This is war. Today and throughout its whole course your government will conduct it with full realization of its seriousness and with the sole objective of winning it. The American people understand and approve this purpose. They want to know and will be told the general trend of how the war is going. They do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do and they will pay little attention to the birds of ill omen in our midst.

To revert to Pearl Harbor: the number of our officers and men killed that day was 2,340. ~~About 1,000 more~~ and 946 were wounded. As to the losses of ships, ~~and~~ referring to all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor ~~that day~~, only three were permanently put out of commission.

— battle ships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines —

INSERT G - page 8

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. ~~Some of those there were not hit.~~ Some were hit ~~and~~ very slightly; and others that were more seriously damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When the repairs of the latter are completed the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

of those that were there

Rumors and gossip are rife in every crisis. In war time they always become worse. Your government cannot, and will not, undertake to deny them all. It is not necessary to deny them; for war is above all a matter of discipline; and the very essence of democracy is self-discipline.

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you should ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, ask him to ~~insist that he~~ name this "authority", ~~publicly, so that this so-called "authority" shall have a chance to speak up for himself.~~ New Times and Tribune the authority is the office-boy or else his own imagination.

G

~~Discarding rumors, however, and concentrating on facts the official reports, we still find little to cheer about in the present grim situation.~~ We have suffered ~~calamitous defeats~~ losses - and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But,

Let me say once and for all to the people who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands -- let me say this:

We have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We are committed to the destruction of militarism in Japan and in Germany. We are ~~now offensive~~ daily increasing our ~~total~~ strength. ~~When~~ Soon, ~~that task is accomplished~~ we, and not ~~they~~ our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Let these words of solemn assurance be heard also by the people of India -- ~~by Hindus and Moslems alike~~ -- whose great land may well be threatened by ~~the~~ Japanese from the East and the Nazis from the West. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us, the world over, that future depends entirely upon victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Millions of human beings in ~~the East~~ India, China and the Pacific areas, like other millions in Europe, ~~have seen~~ know well what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

H + I

When we look at the conquered peoples all over the earth -- and when we study the further course of conquest which the Nazis and the Japanese plan to follow -- we know that this is all one war and that the world is all one battlefield.

INSERT H - PAGE #15

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. So do the Koreans and the people of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. If there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of us the world over, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

Since the fateful day when France fell in 1940, there have been two definite phases of this war.

In the first phase, the British Empire stood almost alone -- helped only by the men and ships of conquered nations and by an increasing supply of munitions from the United States. The opponents of the aggressors were overwhelmingly out-numbered, and were then literally fighting with their backs against the wall.

The second phase commenced when Russia was attacked last June and was intensified last December when Japan, Germany and Italy declared war on us. This second phase is still a defensive phase -- for in most theatres of the war the Axis powers still have a superiority in trained men and in munitions. The exception is the magnificent counter-attack now being staged on the Russian-German front. There the Russians have an undoubted superiority in men; and in munitions and machines they have sufficient volume to inflict vast continuing destruction on German planes, tanks and equipment of all kinds.

All of the United Nations are now confidently relying on the third phase of the war to come -- the time when on every front, not the Russian front alone, the United Nations will have

such a clear superiority in trained men and in munitions, that they will be able to assume the offensive all along the line.

In order to arrive at this third phase as quickly as possible the one all-important part of this tremendous struggle is the battle of production. It is a battle we must win undramatically and without trumpets -- in mines and shops and factories all across the land. It is a battle we must win by sweating and sacrificing. It is a battle in which we must never pause to count the cost -- this battle of production on the winning of which all our other battles depend.

In that battle huge additional production next year is essential. But increased production tomorrow and the next day and next day and next month are even more important. In the battle of production, this is the crucial spring.

On January 6th of this year I set certain definite goals of production of airplanes, tanks, and merchant ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight nearly two months later and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will all be attained -- and on schedule.

And for that production, we shall need more and more of every kind of raw material -- not next summer or next year, but now -- today: more aluminum, more magnesium, more steel, more chemicals, more rubber, more copper. More and more, we must deny ourselves the use of these things. More sharply than ever before we must ration ourselves in our daily lives.

I can give you a very simple example of the many ways in which each individual can contribute.

The American people spend more than two billion dollars a year on automotive maintenance. That includes all servicing and repairs on private cars and trucks of all kinds.

You can help to save the materials and the skilled labor needed for this maintenance. When you make purchases at stores, carry them home yourself if you possibly can. That saves delivery. If you own a car, drive it sparingly and avoid speeding. That adds to the life of the car and the tires and reduces the need for servicing and repairs.

By reducing our annual expenditure for maintenance by only twenty-five per cent, we can release enough skilled

INSERT I

If a just and durable peace [of justice] is to be attained, even if all of us are to save our own skins, there is one thought for us at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of the task of production.

[Look again at your world map and listen to this close argument.]

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

[It is physically possible, principally with American aid, so greatly] Our first job is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- [which means] not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and all others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained -- and on schedule.

(1)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

it will be generations or
even centuries before our
conception of democracy
can live again.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants; we are seeking more men and women to man them. We are working longer hours. [And] people in every walk of life are coming more and more to [the realization] realize that if we ~~lost~~ lose this war [there will never be any more progress along the democratic lines of the past. You Americans will be forced to a lower standard of life under the prophesies of dictatorship.]

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. ~~Do~~ We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working [while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration ~~and let somebody solve it, mediate or conciliate it or arbitrate it for the duration of the war~~ -- until the war is won.

2. ~~Do~~ We shall not demand special gains or special privileges for any one ~~your~~ group or ~~your~~ occupation to gain ~~which would give you a~~ special advantages over

other groups or occupations. ~~That applies to~~ in business, ~~and~~ labor, and agriculture alike.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of ~~your~~ our lives if ~~your~~ our country asks ~~you~~ us to do so. ~~I know you~~ We will do it cheerfully, remember our that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of ~~the~~ our land.

~~(Page #19 follows this insert)~~

labor and materials to build 10,000 tanks for our fighting forces.

Every shop and factory in America which can possibly make military goods or parts of military goods, and which is not absolutely needed to keep our civilian economy alive, must be converted to full military production. Every consideration which stands in the way of that must be swept aside; every device which will speed that along must be adopted.

This cannot be done easily. Sacrifices will be demanded of capital, of labor and of consumers. Every last one of us will have some part of the price to pay.

For production is not a matter merely ofvoting money or placing orders or drawing blueprints. It means individual work and effort and sacrifice for you and me and all other loyal Americans.

The quality of our production and of our entire war effort will depend on the true temper of our people. And I can say that none of us need be doubtful about that.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own

They say that the British are finished -- That that the Russians or the Chinese are about to quit. But, before we listen to any of this propaganda, let us ~~listen~~ remember some of the things they have said and are still saying about us.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

allies. At the same time, they are trying to destroy the confidence of the British in us -- and of the Russians, the Chinese and the Dutch in us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda -- German and Japanese.

The theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that we cannot and will not fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

We certainly tried to avoid this war. But we were forced into it by our enemies, and we have gone in fighting. We are in to the finish and it will be a knock-out finish.

Our airmen, in their first experience in actual combat, have knocked down at least four Japanese planes for every one of our own that has been lost. This is an established fact and the Japanese know it. And they also know how their rate of airplane production compares with ours. That is why they're in such a tremendous hurry to deprive us of all possible bases from which our planes can operate.

The great fight of the United Nations today is to defend existing bases -- and the great fight of tomorrow is to regain the bases we have already lost and to gain new bases from which to launch the offensive.

As quiddy as we assemble sufficient strength at any strategic point -- whether in Europe or Africa or Asia -- we must use that strength aggressively to strike the enemy.

INSERT D

Here is another suggested "don't" when you start giving your own values to war comments. I cite the example of the three German ships which successfully ran the narrow channel from Brest back to a German port. This was not a British defeat even though many good people in England and the United States assume that it was a British defeat. If I had been the German admiral I would have figured on getting odds of two to one on returning to Germany by choosing thick weather and taking the shortest route. Therefore, it would have been a stroke of very good luck if the British had overcome these odds and sunk one or more of the German ships.

Furthermore, on this strategical side there are many officers who believe that the presence of these ships in one place -- on the German side of the North Sea is far better for the British and American Navies than the former situation. When these three ships were in Brest in France they constituted a direct menace to the North Atlantic lane, the South African lane, the South American lane and the entrance to the Mediterranean. Ships of the United Nations were so disposed as to cover that menace and other ships were so disposed as to cover the other German navy ships which were based on Emden and Kiel. From my own point of view, it is rather an advantage than a disadvantage to have those German ships all together in one place. As between having them in a German port or at the bottom

(Insert D - page 2)

of the sea, there can be no argument. But as between having them two different places or one place, there is a fairly sound argument to the latter.

Some people might call this a weak argument but they are setting up their judgment against the considered expert opinion. As one man put it who had the true facts explained to him: "It seems to me that the worst that can be said of the trip of those three German ships is that the situation is not one bit worse than it was before. It may be better. And the British had hard luck in not overcoming two to one odds against them."

INSERT D

PAGE 12

These figures will be bad news for those who with apparent ghoulish glee kept repeating that the report of the Secretary of the Navy soon after the attack was far too rosy and that the damage was infinitely worse than he would admit. What I have told you proves that that report was not only correct at the time it was made, but that the actual number of ships destroyed was fewer than we believed then.

We must exploit each situation to the utmost. We must use the best command -- the best specialists -- available in each area.

The spirit in which all the United Nations are fighting this war is one of complete cooperation and comradeship. Unified commands and unified striking forces -- those are the symbols of a united determination to win through to the end.

Since the United States entry into the war, very far-reaching agreements have been made for pooling resources with those united in fighting the aggressors. Two nations possessing a great and expanding industrial capacity and at the same time owning the shipping which must distribute the munitions of war, are the United States and Great Britain. So, a beginning in pooling has been made first by these two governments. But this essential step in organizing an effective use of our joint resources does not fix, and was not intended to fix, the future control of international effort.

Far from being the foundation of an Anglo-American hierarchy, it is the organization for victory for the United Nations. The victory finally will be won by all the United Nations,

by their men and their heroic human sacrifices, still more than by the equipment now so much needed from American and British factories.

In the community of sacrifice we establish a comradeship which can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. And from that community there can and will develop a better, freer, fairer world.

Ultimately our forces will be fighting together with the Chinese in the drive which will go straight through to Tokyo. And I should like particularly to call that promise to the attention of the Japanese Admiral who has announced that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

INSERT D

We have great allies in this war, and the greatest strength of all of them has been their ability to carry on. The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Hitler's onslaught. There have been times when the fate of both London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield, no matter how great the suffering imposed upon them. And when the day of retribution comes, the British

and Russian armies and air forces will dispose of German militarism once and for all.

The collaboration of the United Nations is vital to the winning of this war, and it is vital to the security of the peaceful world in which our children are to live and grow and prosper.

The shape of the future always is suggested by the action of today. But an action taken today does not limit the future. The agreement reached in the first Atlantic Meeting with Prime Minister Churchill laid down certain broad principles for peace. That Agreement has been called the Atlantic Charter, but no one should assume that its principles apply only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic. They are principles on which the well-being of all the families of peoples everywhere depends.

Not only that, but the promise in this agreement belongs to the oppressed people everywhere, to those under the yoke of the Nazis in Europe, and to those like the Koreans and the people of Manchuria, who know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan.

It is not for you and me to propose all the precise ways and means by which freedom shall be established and secured in every part of the world, but it is for us to say that it must be established and secured. It is only for the broadest goal that American men will lay down their lives. We know that we fight, first and last, for our own preservation. But we know, too, that we are not to be preserved in a world any part of which is shut off from the free civilization which alone makes for enduring peace.

Sooner or later the Axis powers had to attack us because as long as we are free and powerful we stand in the way of their dream of world domination -- the subjugation of mankind by the so-called two master races of the earth.-- the Nazis and the Japs. For this is not merely a war for colonies, or gold, or land, or trade. It is a war for the loot of human souls -- a war to enslave all the human beings of the world and to make them all work, think, speak and pray only as the war lords of the earth dictate.

The United Nations fight for self-preservation -- but they fight for more. For the free man -- unlike the animal -- thinks beyond his own body; he lives and fights and, if need be, dies to preserve a life that is not of the body alone. We are fighting not only against ruthless military might but also against those ideas which make the dictators want to destroy us and the rest of civilization. We are fighting to maintain ideas which will in the end destroy the dictators themselves and all their hideous doctrines.

Even after we destroy the military power of Germany and Japan, we shall have striven in vain unless we establish everywhere in the world the freedoms which spring from a true conception of the dignity and integrity of the individual man and woman. For we conceive of human beings not as soulless slaves of an almighty state but as part of a state created to serve the well-being of the people themselves.

When we speak of freedom, liberty, democracy we speak of the system of government which recognizes the dignity of the individual -- which recognizes the all important fact that the individual is greater than the state.

J. (1)

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. They share equally and with equal zeal, the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise they must share participation in a unified plan in which each of us must play our several parts, each be equally indispensable and each of us dependent on one another.

J (2)

~~INSERT J~~

We ~~You~~ have unified cooperation and comradeship, between the armed forces of the United Nations which are engaged in the fighting.

We ~~You~~ have unity of command at home.

Americans are counting on unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics, ~~or private organizations~~. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination & their aversions, including ~~I should like to be able to make that not merely as a promise but as an announcement to~~ the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

The British and the Russians ~~and the Chinese~~ people have known the full fury of enemy onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. (1) Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

(2) We can ~~Let us~~ not spend too much time now debating ~~arguing about~~ the details of the future of the world when we have won this war. Let us first win this war.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(1)

But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield.

Holland was overrun within a few days. But the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully.

The Chinese people have ~~been~~ ~~fought~~ suffered great losses.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(2)

That is the indomitable spirit which ~~will~~ prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

We look forward to the future with hope and confidence. We know that the road which leads to that better future is long and hard and we must work and fight every inch of the way. But work and fight we shall, and we shall not be stopped from moving steadily forward.

The task which we now confront will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat. But Washington ordered that ~~the~~ these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army; and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

~~These are s[illegible] great words of our history:~~

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have

this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

INSERT J - 3

If we do not win ~~this war~~ -- and we can lose ~~it~~ only if we slow up, or ~~stop to argue too much amongst ourselves~~ waste our ammunition sniping at each other -- there will not be very much left to argue about.

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter [for example] applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of religion, freedom of information, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The United Nations, including the United States of America, fight for self-preservation. The task tests us to the uttermost.

Now, folks, put away your maps and take out your Atlantic Charters.

DRAFT #5 RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942.

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

The predominant trait of Strong? Washington was moral stamina. For eight years, General Washington and his continental army ~~was~~ were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since — a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

What was true for the thirteen colonies is today true for the forty-eight states and indeed ~~of~~ for the entire world.

The present great struggle has taught us that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon world-wide security for the social and international rights and obligations which we call liberty and justice and civilization.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

transpose to X on p 3

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become ~~almost~~ endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

X – Take in from p. 2

We ~~must~~ fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

and we must strike

because that is where our enemies are, wherever around. Wherever we can meet them. We must fight at these vast distances

There are those who still cling to the belief of sailing-ship day that we should pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into the Western Atlantic and to our own Pacific Coast to concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North, Central and South America.

What, I ask you, would happen in all these great ~~regimxx~~ reservoirs of power if they were cut off from each other either by enemy action or self-imposed isolation? You know very well what would happen. The Axis powers would win this war, because:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundred of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense

and in her inevitable counter-offensive [redacted] -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, indluding Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East. [A glance at your map will show you how this would be done.]

3. If, by pulling our heads within our own shells, we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russian in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy [advocated by a few], we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive [comeback] by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could to imitate the tactics of the ostrich.

When we were trying to live under the illusion of isolationism, it appeared that the American eagle wanted was beginning to resemble an ostrich. Now, ~~some~~ those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for all of the masses of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

Vital that we maintain these lifelines — The maintenance of all these lines of communications between the United Nations is vital.

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¶ It is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of [these lines] the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes can not. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be sent to the southwest Pacific packed in crates on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is very long and at many places perilous — ~~is very long~~ ~~[illegible]~~ either ~~[illegible]~~ across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or ~~is about the same distance and takes about the same amount of time as the route~~ from ~~San Francisco~~ California to the ~~South Pacific~~ East Indies direct. [To send cargo ships by either route is an operation of many weeks.] A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, [Although we have been in the war for only two months and a half,] I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific.

~~Furthermore, every plane needs an average of ten men on the ground at some base for its continued operation.~~ And [I can tell you that] thousands of Americans are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial [a clear] advantage. For she could [can] fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could [can] go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-

China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover an area, a large strategic from north to south and from east to west. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified. Here take in from p. 10.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, barrier on all four sides, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. While this may have shocked many Americans, it has always been ~~the~~ our strategy, a strategy born of necessity, that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

Transpose to p9

¶ Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations. ¶ We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along

~~For we know~~ that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines. In the meantime, in defense and in attack, we shall continue to destroy the Japanese and their implements of warfare.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy in the Philippines -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been folly to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life. They are spread through conversation, speeches, some of the radio and some of the press -- and always with the assurance that they come from what are called "undisclosed authoritative sources".

I suggest that when you hear any rumor of some hidden disaster, you ask your informant to prove his statement. If he mentions some "authority" as his source, ask him to name this "authority". Nine times out of ten the authority is the office boy or else his own imagination.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They have claimed or suggested slily that the government has withheld the truth about

casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story. They even claimed that shiploads of bodies of ~~the~~ our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

You and I can rest assured that all the major facts have been and will be disclosed to the American people. We might as well make up our minds that in many cases -- most cases -- the details of those facts will not be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy ~~important~~ military information which he does not already possess. ~~to the enemy.~~

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word discretion applies ~~to government and~~ to the critics of government as well.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed

This is war. Today and throughout its whole course your government will conduct it with full realization of its seriousness and with the sole objective of winning it. The American people understand and approve the will of their government to win this war. this purpose. They want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do, and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and birds of ill omen poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor to the field of facts: ~~To revert to Pearl Harbor:~~ the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 ~~that day~~ was 2,340, and ~~946 were wounded. As to the losses of ships, referring to~~ The number wounded was 946. Of the all combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were more seriously damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those the repairs of the latter are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

We have, most certainly, suffered losses -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: who dwell in the southwestern Pacific area -- all the way from the Philippines and Indo-China on the north, down through Siam and the Malay States and Singapore and the great Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, New Guinea and the thousands of other Islands -- let me say this: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and our Allies are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Millions of human beings in India, China and the Pacific area, like other millions in Europe, know well what it is for people to live under the heel of the Japanese and Nazi conquerors.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. So do the Koreans and the people of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of the East know that there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them. that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, ~~even~~ or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of ~~the~~ our special task of production.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Out first job Then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns, and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and ~~all~~ others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained -- and on schedule.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor,capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or

INSERT K P. 16

We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship ~~turned out~~ completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide ~~in~~ on some distant battlefield; ~~and~~ it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies.

Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to

to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants for plant conversion to war needs; we are seeking more men and women to man them. We are working longer hours. We know now People in every walk of life are coming more and more to realize that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Insert K

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation, ~~gain special advantages over other groups or occupations -- in business, labor, and agriculture alike.~~

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

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They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. But, before we listen to any of this crude propaganda, let us remember they will recall some of the things the Nazis and Japanese ~~they~~ have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda -- German and Japanese.

This ~~The~~ theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that They ~~that we~~ cannot and will not unite and work and fight. ~~unite to fight~~ not ~~fight~~ ~~attack~~.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

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We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute [are counting on] unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of enemy onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Holland was overrun within a few days. But the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully. The Chinese people have suffered great losses. Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the ~~indefitable~~ conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

We can not spend too much time now debating the details of the future of the world when we have won this war. Let us first win this war.

If we do not win -- and we can lose only if we slow up our effort or waste our ammunition sniping at each other -- there will not be very much left to argue about.

Now, folks, put away your maps and take out your Atlantic Charters.

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of information, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The United Nations, including the United States of America, fight for self-preservation. The task that we face tests us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

General Washington ordered that these great words be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

DRAFT #6

3831 words

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his continental army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

~~What was true for the thirteen colonies is today true for the forty-eight states and indeed for the entire world.~~ The present great struggle has taught us, that

freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon ~~[illegible]~~ security ~~for~~ the ~~social and international~~ rights and obligations [which we call] liberty and justice [and civilization] everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many quotations will I fear remain unremembered but I bring you well nigh I cannot cover everything in brief

Those broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. ~~And we must strike wherever and whenever we can meet them.~~ We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect them from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut those lines. Their object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our war ships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters ~~the Western Atlantic~~ and ~~to our own Pacific Coast,~~ and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America, and South America.

(A) p. 3.

Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking the enemy wherever and whenever we can meet them,

even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

What would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation? You know very well what would happen. The Axis nations would win this war, because:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

3. If, ~~by pulling our troops within our own shores~~, we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the

Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

It is vital that we maintain them, ~~these life lines of communications between the United Nations.~~

It is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range

pursuit planes which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be ~~sent to the southwest Pacific~~ packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic around South Africa, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or, in other words, only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her --

bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indo-China, Thailand and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, lay the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands — which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them -- thereby completely encircling the Islands from all four directions -- north, south, east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years It has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land and in the air.

We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

B

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been [redacted] a difficult operation to send the fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations came originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

INSERT B PAGE 10

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are altogether fulfilling the same task of making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport that has sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to Luzon.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored Americans dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there

C p. 11

~~[illegible]~~

Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements like that.

must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people understand and approve the will of their government to win this war. They want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were ~~more seriously~~ damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

We/most certainly suffered losses -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and ~~our Allies~~ are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battle; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. ~~Some of the~~ Koreans and ~~the people~~ of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the peoples of ~~the Far East~~ know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production.

Insert D

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The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese don't know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that ~~the total score of planes destroyed — in the air and on the ground including those at Pearl Harbor — is very heavily in our favor.~~ In aerial combat, our fliers are knocking down at least four Japanese planes for every one of ours that is lost. We can expect that ratio to increase as we gain greater numerical strength in the air.

to date, including Pearl Harbor — we have killed many more Japanese planes than they have of ours.

to-date — and including Pearl Harbor — we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January sixth of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained, ~~and on schedule~~.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs; We are seeking more men and women to ~~man~~ man them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things the Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This generation of Americans ~~to coming~~ has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group ~~of individuals~~ -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. ~~In times of peace we talk about our duties to the Nation, half understanding and half believing what we say.~~ In times of crisis when the future ~~of the [illegible] people~~ is in the balance, we come to understand, with ~~the~~ full ~~understanding of~~ recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

E

p 46

~~Archie~~

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who ~~rallied from Pearl Harbor to carry the attack into the Marshall Islands~~ today are hitting the enemy hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share ~~participation~~ in a unified plan in which ~~each~~ all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and ~~each~~ ~~equally~~ dependent on the one another.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

Insert p. 19

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of ~~enemy~~ Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was neve the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. Though their homeland ~~Holland~~ was overrun ~~within a few days~~ ~~but~~ the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully. The Chinese people have suffered ~~great~~ grievous losses; overseas, Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence, a great yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

G

And to-day all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army ~~as it co on the~~ as it celebrates the 24th anniversary of its first assembly. ~~The little homeland of~~

We are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of ~~information~~ speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The task that we face tests us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

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So speak Americans today!

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DRAFT #7

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1942

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

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The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in ~~half an hour~~ any one report to the people.

The ~~These~~ broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking ~~the enemy~~ our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies — protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. of the Nazi's and the Japanese object is to separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

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Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Irak, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa and the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

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[It is vital that we maintain them.]

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varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Atlantic world. Every Japanese transport [redacted] sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to Their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. ~~THEXXXXX~~ These exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements ~~like that.~~ such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines -- only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to- date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to

the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the peoples of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or for us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production.

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall

some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, and that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting the enemy hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic

but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence; yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face ~~xxxx~~ will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls".

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph".

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

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